THE
# Dan Smoot Report

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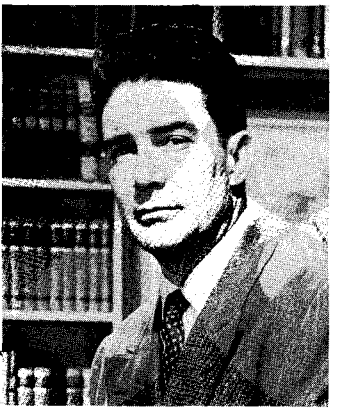

DAN SMOOT

# ELECTIONS, 1962

The 1962 elections reflect, among other things, a vast population shift in the United States: generally (though not uniformly) from the East and Midwest to the West and Far West.

States with great increase in population (as reflected by the 1960 census) were entitled to increased representation in the U. S. House of Representatives. In the last (87th) Congress, for example, California had 30 Representatives. In the new (88th) Congress, chosen in the 1962 elections, California will have 38 Representatives — a gain of 8.

The total number of seats in the U. S. House of Representatives is fixed, by law, at 435. Every state must have at least one Representative. When Alaska and Hawaii were admitted as new states, the number was increased temporarily to 437, to give each of the new states one seat in the House.

Even if there had been no great population shift reflected in the 1960 census, some reapportionment would have been required to reduce the over-all number of congressional districts in all 50 states from 437 to 435. This fact, plus the population shift, resulted in the most extensive redistricting ever effected for one election year. In all, 206 United States Representatives were elected from new, or radically altered, congressional districts in 1962.

Below are the states whose representation in the U. S. House of Representatives increased:

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Arizona — gained one seat
California — gained eight seats
Florida — gained four seats
Hawaii — gained one seat
Maryland — gained one seat
Michigan — gained one seat
New Jersey — gained one seat
Ohio — gained one seat
Texas — gained one seat

Here are states whose representation in the U. S. House of Representatives decreased:

Alabama — lost one seat
Arkansas — lost two seats
Illinois — lost one seat
Iowa — lost one seat
Kansas — lost one seat
Kentucky — lost one seat
Maine — lost one seat
Massachusetts — lost two seats
Minnesota — lost one seat
Mississippi — lost one seat
Missouri — lost one seat
Nebraska — lost one seat
New York — lost two seats
North Carolina — lost one seat
Pennsylvania — lost three seats
West Virginia — lost one seat

Nine states gained in representation; sixteen states lost.

The most notable fact is the gain in California. California now has the second biggest delegation (38) in the U. S. House of Representatives, which means that she will also have the second biggest delegations in the political conventions which choose Democrat and Republican presidential candidates in 1964. New York State (41 U. S. Representatives) still has the biggest congressional delegation, but her political strength is waning. California's political strength is growing faster than that of any other state.

Hence, the key to an understanding of the elections of 1962 can be found in California. California is also the key to what could happen in 1964.

Superficially, it may look as if California made a drastic swing to liberalism (which, of course, means socialism). Of the 38 United States Representatives elected in California, 26 were Democrats; 12 were Republicans. Nixon, the Republican candidate for governor, lost by a rather large margin to Brown, the Democrat. Moreover, two of the best constitutionalists in the House (Edgar Hiestand and John Rousselot, both from the Los Angeles area) lost to New Frontier Democrats.

It is both superficial and inexact, however, to assume that a Republican loss in California (or anywhere else in the nation) reflects voter rejection of "conservatism."

It is true that practically all of the best constitutionalists in the House of Representatives are Republicans. In the "Voting Records, 1962," issue of this *Report*, October 1, 1962, I listed the ratings which all United States Representatives made during the 1962 session of Congress by their roll-call votes on 22 key issues. Of the best 20 in the House, only one (Joe D. Waggoner, Jr., of Louisiana) was a Democrat. As national parties, however, Republican and Democrat are virtually the same. They offer voters no choice between socialism and constitutional government: both parties stand for policies and programs, domestic and foreign, which are dragging the nation toward loss of national independence and individual freedom.

The Democrats, under Franklin D. Roosevelt, initiated the practice of buying votes with the voters' own money — of promising the people everything, to be paid for out of the federal treasury. Individual Republicans and individual Democrats have resisted this drive toward the total, corrupt federal state; but, as national parties, both have supported it.

Hence, the Republican Party has no original program. It merely promises to administer Democrat programs better than Democrats do.



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The real mood of the electorate in 1962 was rebellion against the disastrous policies of a power-hungry Kennedy administration and disgust with a "moderate," "me-too" Republicanism which offered voters little chance to reject the New Frontier. This mood is hard to detect in the actual voting, however, because of incumbent Democrats' use of three powerful weapons to influence voting.

## Cubanizing and Spending

Kennedy and his political henchmen in control of key state governments (like California) were aware of the growing revolt against the New Frontier; and they used three powerful clubs to kill it: the Cuban crisis, government spending projects, and redstricting.

As pointed out in the October 29, 1962, issue of this *Report,* "War and Politics," Kennedy's sudden precipitation of the Cuban crisis, on the eve of the elections, was a cynical attempt to stampede voters into the senseless attitude that, regardless of "petty differences," they should all stand solidly united behind the President and his Administration in this "grave crisis."

The maneuver worked in many districts and states. Bob Wilson (Republican Representative from California, who is Chairman of the Republican Congressional Committee — and who earned a constitutionalist score of 70% in his roll-call votes of 1962, as tabulated in this *Report*) accurately said that Republican chances for major gains had been "Cubanized."[1]

In some districts, the effects of the Cuban crisis were reinforced by election-eve announcements from Washington of New Frontier spending projects in the districts. In a number of congressional races throughout the nation, Democrats won by fewer than 1000 votes. The narrow Democrat victories were attributed to the last-minute Cuban crisis, and last-minute announcements of "well-placed public-works projects."[2]

## Gerrymandering

The redistricting club was the one which removed two fine constitutionalists (Hiestand and Rousselot of California) from the U. S. House of Representatives — and defeated other good men, as well.

*Gerrymander* is a word which American partisan politics gave to the English language. It originated in 1812 when a man named Gerry was governor of Massachusetts. He and the state legislature which his party controlled redistricted the state in such a way as to give him political control. Hence, *gerrymandering* has come to mean dividing a state into election districts in an unnatural and unfair way, for the purpose of giving the political party in power an election advantage.

Both major parties have practiced *gerrymandering,* without restraint, since 1812. Both practiced it in 1962. Democrats were in charge of more state governments in 1962 than Republicans were; hence, Democrats did more *gerrymandering.*

In some places, the *gerrymandering* backfired on the party in power — in North Carolina, for example. North Carolina lost one Congressional district, because of the population shift. Hence, the state was redistricted. The redistricting pitted an incumbent Republican Representative (Charles Raper Jonas — with a 68% rating on the tabulations in this *Report*) against an incumbent Democrat (Paul A. Kitchin — with a 35% rating on the tabulations in this *Report*). Democrats, who control the North Carolina state legislature, *gerrymandered* the state in an effort to give Kitchin a political advantage, but Jonas won the election.

In California, however, *gerrymandering* was more effective, because most voters were registered as either Democrats or Republicans.



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Hence, it was easy for the Democrat-controlled state legislature to manipulate geographical boundaries of key districts in such a way as to throw a preponderance of registered Democrats into those districts, making it virtually impossible for Republicans to win.

Of the 20 best constitutionalists in the United States House of Representatives (according to tabulations in this *Report*), five were from California: Edgar Hiestand with 95%; John Rousselot with 95%; James Utt with 94%; Glenard P. Lipscomb with 86%; H. Allen Smith with 86%.

The Democrat-controlled state legislature *gerrymandered* all five districts severely. The strategy worked against Hiestand and Rousselot. Utt, Lipscomb, and Smith were all re-elected.

## Birchers Are Stronger Than Moderates

Hiestand and Rousselot are both members of the John Birch Society. Hence, hardly a liberal writer or commentator in the country has failed to point out that they were defeated because of their John Birch membership. The fact is that both of them came rather close to winning, despite overwhelming odds stacked against them by the *gerrymandering* of their districts. Their John Birch membership was probably a political asset to them — because this membership was just another indication, to well-informed voters, that Hiestand and Rousselot are fine constitutionalists.

Look at the political facts in these two key districts, both in Los Angeles County.

Rousselot had to run in District No. 25, which had been *gerrymandered* in such a way as to contain 98,708 registered Democrats; 55,954 registered Republicans — with only 3.02% of the registered voters in the "miscellaneous" classifications. Thus, any Democrat in this district would have a 61-to-35 (almost 2 to 1) advantage over any Republican. But Rousselot actually got 46.18% of the total vote. Rousselot (with only 55,954 registered Republicans in his district) got 52,393 votes. Ronald B. Cameron (Rousselot's Democrat opponent) got 61,060 votes — in a district with 98,708 registered Democrats.

Hiestand's district (No. 27) had been *gerrymandered* in such a way that it contained 104,407 registered Democrats; 65,045 registered Republicans. Hiestand, the constitutionalist Republican, got 58,985 votes. His Democrat opponent (Everett G. Burkhalter) got 65,224 votes. In other words, Hiestand got 47.49% of the total votes in a district where only 37.16% of the voters were registered Republicans.

In District No. 29 (also in the Los Angeles area), Bill Richardson, another John Birch Society member, ran as a Republican against George Brown, Jr., a Democrat. Bill Richardson was politically unknown. George Brown, Jr., was a member of the California Assembly, and was a well-known political figure.

The district, moreover, had been *gerrymandered* in such a way as to give the Democrat a 62-to-33 (again, close to 2 to 1) advantage over the Republican. District No. 29 contained 116,500 registered Democrat voters; 62,529 registered Republicans. Bill Richardson, running as a constitutionalist Republican, and a member of the John Birch Society, got 57,101 votes. George Brown, Jr., office-holding, well-known Democrat got 72,014 votes. Richardson got 44.22% of the votes in a district where only 33.77% of the registered voters were Republicans.

Examine the record of a "moderate" Republican who was also defeated in a *gerrymandered* district in Los Angeles County: Gordon McDonough. Gordon McDonough, a Republican, has been a member of the House of Representatives since 1945; and he was a rather well-known political figure in Los Angeles County before then. He is generally known as a "moderate" (73% rating on roll-calls tabulated in this *Report*).



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McDonough ran this year in District No. 30, which had been *gerrymandered* in such a way as to contain 109,521 registered Democrat voters; 62,575 registered Republicans. McDonough's Democrat opponent was a Los Angeles City Councilman, Edward R. Roybal. McDonough got 50,014 votes. Roybal got 66,900.

In other words, McDonough, the Republican "moderate," did not do as well in a *gerrymandered* Los Angeles district as either of the three "arch-conservative" Republican members of the John Birch Society — Hiestand, Rousselot, and Richardson.[3]

Commenting on these key elections in Los Angeles County, Jud Baker, Political Editor of the *Los Angeles Herald-Examiner,* said:

**"Democrats and 'moderate' Republicans who think conservatives were killed in the recent election ought to do some more homework.**

**"Conservatives, including three defeated John Birch Society men, actually did well — better than most defeated 'moderate' Republicans.**

**"In fact, Congressmen John H. Rousselot and Edgar W. Hiestand and political newcomer H. L. (Bill) Richardson did well enough to raise a question whether their JBS affiliation aided, rather than hindered, their campaigns.**

**"In another race, avowed conservative Republican Charles S. (Steve) Foote dropped a close race to Democratic Rep. James C. Corman, adding to the evidence that the cause of conservatism apparently is neither dead nor dying. . . .**

**"Veteran Rep. Gordon L. McDonough. . . . is generally considered to be a 'moderate.' His fate was typical of that of other 'moderate' Republicans."**[3]

## California Is The Key

Nixon's defeat in 1962, like his defeat in 1960, can also be attributed to the fact that he offered the voters no choice. The Nixon platform in 1960 was virtually identical with the Kennedy platform, and the Nixon platform in 1962 was virtually identical with that of Pat Brown. In both elections, Nixon talked out of both sides of his mouth, trying to appeal to "liberals" by condemning the "extremists of the right," trying to appeal to conservatives by claiming to be conservative, while supporting the whole New Frontier program.

In California, in 1962, many leading constitutionalist conservatives (the very people whose support would be necessary to elect a Republican governor against a Democrat incumbent) were strongly opposed to Nixon. Many, who voted for Nixon merely because they could not stomach the notion of voting for Brown, did not have enough enthusiasm to work for Nixon. Why? Because Nixon was determined to destroy the conservative influence in the Republican party.

Earl Warren practically eliminated all meaningful conservative influence in the Republican Party in California. Ever since Warren's first term as governor, the Republican Party — as a statewide political organization standing for freedom and constitutional government, as opposed to the socialism (called *liberalism*) of the Democrat Party — has been practically non-existent. Yet, through all these years, a great deal of the money and hard work which held the Republican organization together came from genuine conservatives in the Party.

In 1953, when Warren became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court (as the political reward for having given California support to Eisenhower's nomination the year before), many conservatives felt that the air had been cleared in California. With Warren gone, perhaps conservatives could recapture control of their party.

This perennial hopefulness on the part of California conservatives kept money rolling into the coffers of the Republican Party, and made any third-party effort in California quite



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impossible. Yet, in every election year, the men chosen to lead the Republican ticket in California turned out to be "moderates" who talked conservative but supported socialism.

The vacillating me-tooism of William F. Knowland (generally regarded as a leading conservative) was the real reason for his defeat in 1958, and for the victory of his extreme leftwing, union-supported Democrat opponent, Edmund (Pat) Brown. In 1958, the Democrats not only won control of the governorship with Brown; they also won control of the State Legislature; and they dominated the State's representation in the national Congress.

From this rock-bottom position of conservative Republicanism in 1958, the conservatives in California, with much dedication and expenditure of time and money, worked to rebuild the Republican Party. They were aiming at 1962, when they hoped to recapture the important office of governor. They picked a good man to back: Joe Shell. With Joe Shell, they probably could have beaten Edmund Brown. And then Nixon entered the picture.

Nixon, opposing Brown, was meaningless. But Nixon, opposing Shell inside the Republican Party, and making it very clear that he intended to eliminate all conservative influence in the Party — was very meaningful. It meant, in short, that if Nixon had won, the hopes of conservative Republicans (to rebuild their Party into an organization which would offer opposition to the socialism of the Democrats) would have been quite dead.

It follows that Nixon's defeat in 1962 is far better for the country than Nixon's victory would have been. California is now *the* key political state. With Nixon out of the way, conservatives have a chance to wrest control of the Republican Party from Caspar Weinberger of San Francisco. Weinberger is the State Republican Chairman who considers himself heir to the Party leadership which Nixon lost. And Weinberger, like Nixon, openly vows to eliminate conservative influence in the Party.

An intense political struggle is now being waged in California — between conservative Republicans who support Joe Shell; and "liberal" or "moderate" Republicans who support Weinberger.

If the conservatives win, they might exert enough influence nationally to stop the insane drive to turn the national leadership of the Republican Party over to Nelson Rockefeller. If the conservatives do not win the present battle between Shell and Weinberger, they had better get out of the Republican Party in California, and start immediately building a genuine third party.

If the nation continues to drift, as it is presently drifting, until 1964, when the only choice of the electorate will be between Rockefeller Republicans and Kennedy Democrats, it will be a dismal picture indeed. I believe the leadership, to avoid this catastrophe — either by getting constitutional conservatives in control of the state Republican Party, or by organizing a new party — must come from California.

## Cuba

"Moderate" Republicans (who, in their political speeches, and by an occasional vote, oppose the New Frontier; but who generally support the major socialist proposals of the Democrat administration) were rather easily "Cubanized" (as Representative Bob Wilson puts it) by Kennedy's Cuban maneuver on election eve in 1962. It is interesting to note, however, that genuine Republican constitutionalists, by meeting the Cuban issue head on and telling the truth about it, were not defeated by this reprehensible New Frontier political trick.

For example, look at results in the Third District of Michigan. This district is repre-


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sented by Republican August E. Johansen who has a 100% constitutionalist rating on roll-call votes tabulated in this *Report*. Mr. Johansen was re-elected. He attributed his victory to deep voter concern over three major issues, one of which was the "no-invasion pledge regarding Cuba."[4]

In other words, voters in the Third District of Michigan (thanks, in large part, to the splendid efforts of August Johansen) know the truth about Cuba. The truth is that Kennedy's election-eve maneuver — far from being a strong stand against communism — was actually another major contribution to the Cause of communism in the Western Hemisphere.

A grim, but accurate, evaluation of the Cuban situation can be found in the following memorandum, prepared by a former citizen of Russia, now residing as a refugee in the United States:

**1. We must assume that those visible Soviet missile bases, which the U. S. Air Force photographed, were hoax missile bases.**

**2. The real Russian missiles in Cuba are well stored underground near the sites, where underground anti-atomic missile bases are being built up. Experts can tell us that such anti-atomic missile bases require more than two years to be completed.**

**3. Evidently, such underground missile bases will never be detected by the U. S. Air Force, probably not even by the Central Intelligence Agency, whose agents, in a positive case, will withhold the information from the American public, as they did in regard to Korea, Hungary, etc.**

**4. These Russian hoax missile bases provide Kremlin strategists a means of sampling the reaction of the American public.**

**5. Kennedy knew for months that these bases in question were being built up. And yet, he waited until October 22, 1962, to tell a fable to the American people. Of course, there are elections: he badly needed it. But there was too much artificiality, which Kennedy's boys staged — with the help of Khrushchev.**

**6. If Khrushchev really intended a showdown with the United States, at least 75% of the Russian major cities would have been quietly evacuated. There would be at least**


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**200 Soviet and satellite divisions deployed from the Baltic Sea down to the Caucasus.**

**The net result of the whole comedy?**

**(1) Khrushchev extorted a pledge from Kennedy that Cuba never would be invaded and that Cuban exiles would no longer molest Castro, who now will be able to consolidate his position. At the same time, the Russians gain time for completing their atomic, anti-atomic buildup in Cuba.**

**(2) The Cuban exiles have to give up, as we did, all hope of returning to their country; or, otherwise they will be hunted and put into concentration camps.**

**(3) By this hoax 'Cuban crisis,' there has been created a far more favorable atmosphere to sell West Berlin.**

**(4) You can see clearly, in all this, the policy of the State Department — the policy of no liberation of Cuba, of no liberation of Central and Eastern Europe: in the long run, a policy which will result in subjugating the American people to slavery.**

**These are the facts and prospects at the base of our tragic situation. The conspirators surrounding Kennedy know it: their propagandists know it, too; and yet, they willfully and purposefully mislead and deceive the American people and the whole civilized world.**

As a footnote to this commentary on President Kennedy's Cuban action, note a story, distributed from Washington and published the day after the election, concerning Soviet air reconnaissance over the United States.

According to the story, two Soviet jets, manned by Russians, are making reconnaissance flights from Cuba over the southern part of the United States, from Georgia to Texas. The Air Defense Command is tracking the flights, but the Defense Department has direct orders from President Kennedy not to interfere with the flights. Congressional leaders who have made discreet inquiry have been told that the flights are a means of assuring Fidel Castro that the United States is not preparing to invade Cuba.[5]

**FOOTNOTES**

(1) *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report,* November 9, 1962, p. 2128

(2) *U. S. News & World Report,* November 19, 1962, p. 36

(3) "No Epitaph Yet For Conservatism," column by Jud Baker, Political Editor, in the November 18, 1962, issue of *Los Angeles Herald-Examiner*

(4) *U. S. News & World Report,* November 19, 1962, p. 69

(5) "Russian Jets Flying Spy Missions Over Southeastern U.S.," a column by Robert S. Allen and Paul Scott, published in *The Shreveport Times,* November 7, 1962

## WHO IS DAN SMOOT?

Dan Smoot was born in Missouri. Reared in Texas, he attended SMU in Dallas, taking BA and MA degrees from that university in 1938 and 1940.

In 1941, he joined the faculty at Harvard as a Teaching Fellow in English, doing graduate work for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the field of American Civilization.

In 1942, he took leave of absence from Harvard in order to join the FBI. At the close of the war, he stayed in the FBI, rather than return to Harvard.

He worked as an FBI Agent in all parts of the nation, handling all kinds of assignments. But for three and a half years, he worked exclusively on communist investigations in the industrial midwest. For two years following that, he was on FBI headquarters staff in Washington, as an Administrative Assistant to J. Edgar Hoover.

After nine and a half years in the FBI, Smoot resigned to help start the Facts Forum movement in Dallas. As the radio and television commentator for Facts Forum, Smoot, for almost four years spoke to a national audience giving both sides of great controversial issues.

In July, 1955, he resigned and started his own independent program, in order to give only one side — the side that uses fundamental American principles as a yardstick for measuring all important issues.

If you believe that Dan Smoot is providing effective tools for those who want to think and talk and write on the side of freedom, you can help immensely by subscribing, and encouraging others to subscribe, to *The Dan Smoot Report.*



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